THE TRVE PORTRAITVRE of the KINGS OF ENGLAND;

Drawn from their Titles, Succeſsions, Raigns and Ends.

OR,

A Short and Exact Hiſtorical deſcription of every King, with the Right they have had to the Crown, and the manner of their wearing of it; eſpecially from *WILLIAM* the *Conqueror*.

Wherein is Demonſtated, that there hath been no direct ſucceſſion in the line to create an hereditary right, for ſix or ſeven hundred yeers; faithfully collected out of our beſt Hiſtories, and humbly preſented to the Parliament of *England*.

By an impartial Friend to Iuſtice and Truth.

Pſal. 146. 3. *Put not your truſt in Princes.*

Pſal. 62. 9. *Men of high degree are a lye; to be laid in the Ballance, they are altogether lighter then vanitie.*

Nihil eſt imperium ut ſapientes definiunt, niſi cura ſalutis aliena. *Ammian. lib. 30.*

LONDON, Printed by *R. B.* for *Francis Tyton* at the three *Daggers* in *Fleet ſtreet*, neer the Inner Temple-Gate, 1650.

To the READER.

READER,

IN the Study of Politicks, the more confident we are, commonly the leſs proficient we are. For there is no other ſtudy wherein the Paſſions of men do more impetuouſly contravene, and overturn right Reaſon. Men born in popular States, think themſelves bound to abhor all Kings, as being De genere Beſtiarum rapacium: So Rome it ſelf pronounced from the mouth of Cato the Cenſor. Others on the contrary born under Monarchs, ſpeak as odiouſly of Democracies, and make this reply to Cato, That even Rome her ſelf, when ſhe plundred a third part of the world, and graced her own Captains, with the pompous titles of Africanus, Aſiaticus, Achaicus, &c. was as ravenous a beaſt as any other. See what ſtrong Byaſſes Wiſemen have, and obey. The Queſtion is not, Whether this, or that form be free from oppreſſion and injuſtice, or not; We know well, all Forms have their peculiar advantages, and diſadvantages: and that at ſome times they all tranſgreſs their own Rules and Intereſts, as it were by accident, and not out of miſconſtitution: The queſtion is, Whether the one conſtitution or the other be more free, ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, from oppreſſion, and injuſtice? Now for ſolution of this, greater light ſhines, and breaks in upon us from demonſtration, and ſenſual proof, then from Syllogiſms, and logical inductions. Reading aſſures us, that Rome was not ſo juſt to other Nations, nor ſo conſtant to the Intereſt of her own Citizens, when ſhe was under Kings and Emperors, as ſhe was, when ſhe choſe her own Conſuls, and limited Magiſtrates. 'Tis as apparent alſo at this day, that the people of Venice, the German Hanſ-Towns, Switzerland,

land, *the* United Provinces, *&c. do more flouriſh, and truly injoy the due benefits of Liberty, there the* French, Turkiſh, *or any Royaliſts whatſoever. Tis further as viſible by the publike banks of Treaſure kept in Democracies, and the ſtrange ſplendor which Traffick brings to them beyond Monarchies, that Faith is not kept ſo ſacred and inviolable where one raigns, as where Majeſty and Supream Power remains veſted in the people; and moſt ſure it is, the ſanctity and untemerated chaſtity of publike Faith is the beſt and firmeſt baſis of all Government. To diſpute theſe things, is to undervalue the report of our own ſenſes; and to deny our own ſenſes, is to deny our ſelves to be men. The enemies of our preſent Government ubraide this our popular model, the rather, becauſe it exaſperates all our neighbours againſt us; whereas this is a great argument for us, that our neighbours are troubled at the ejection of Monarchy. For neighbours are more apt to envie then pitty: and the condition of him that is envied, is far better then his that is pitied. The main aduantage that commends Hereditary Monarchy, is the unity of it, for that it is not ſo liable to civil broils and commotions, as other temperaments where the Magiſtrate is elective: Yet Reader, if thou wilt ſtrip thy ſelf of thy paſſions and prejudices, and peruſe this Treatiſe, thou ſhalt ſee that even Hereditary Monarchy it ſelf is far from being a ſoveraign, a remedy againſt civil breaches and diviſions. The Author of this Book is unknown to me, and the Book it ſelf came caſually to my hands, but I have been induced to publiſh it, becauſe it invites thee not to Precepts, but Precedents, not to Diſputable but to viſible Politicks. I need ſay no more; by the Work rather then report judge of the Author, and by Experiment rather then Logick judge of the Work.*

HENRY PARKER.

The true Portraiture of the Kings of *England*, drawn from their Titles, Succeſsions, Reigns, and Ends, &c.

TO treat of the nature and difference of Governments, the diſtinction and preheminence of Monarchy, or Ariſtocracie, with the other kinds, and forms, which have, according to the temper of the People, and the neceſſity of providence, had their courſe in the world, will be uſeleſs in this diſcourſe, which is calculated only for this Nation, and to deſcribe not ſo much the Government, as the Perſons who have ruled among us, and is onely ſuited to Monarchy as it hath had the ſway of the Engliſh Throne; a Diſcourſe not ſo pleaſing as profitable; we are loth to have our old ſoars launced, or to think of change, though it be of miſery, the temper of this Nation being apt to be pleaſed with any thing that is ſtately, and coſtly, though never ſo dangerous and miſerable; yet ſomething muſt be ſaid in generall, to prepare the way for the particulars of this Treatiſe, which is not intended as controverſall, or definitive of the nature of things, but meerly practical and demonſtrative, fit for every eye that means not to ſhut himſelf up in blindneſs, and darkneſs.

As the foundation and originall of Government is confeſt to be of equall Antiquity with the generation and multiplication of mankind: ſo doubleſs the juſt and methodicall uſe, and due management of it, is as neceſſary to the well-being of men, as the exact proportions, and orderly motions of the Heavens are to the preſervation

of the Globes; and certainly without it the rationall world would be more miserable then the materiall without Sun, Moon and Stars, with all cœlestiall influences, which as they do beautifie and bespangle the world, so they do preserve it from returning to its first Chaos, and rude mass of matter; nothing being more contrary to that unity, and harmony, which the God of nature hath moulded, and disposed all things at first in, then disorder, and confusion, in which, as there is nothing of a deity to be discerned, so nothing of peace or happiness can possibly be found.

And notwithstanding all this, the world hath scarce known what the natural sweetness and true benefits of government are, but only as comparative and rather as opposite to Anarchy, then as advancing really and effectually the just liberties and freedoms of societies, or propagating the Commonwealth of mankind; for what through the ignorance and sloath of the people, and the pride and ambition of Governors, the whole order and end of government hath been inverted, and subverted, upon all occasions; and that which was made for the good of the whole, hath been so contracted, and circumscribed in one person, that the great and soveraign use, and end of it, by practise and custom, hath been rather to set up the pomp, and state of one man, and his Family, then to promote or propagate the profit and happiness of the Universe; and whereas of right to its constitution, It should have a free Election as its originall, and common good for its end, and just and equall Laws for its rule; it hath had usurpation for its Principle, and tyranny, and bondage for its medium, and end. As to this day we may see in the greatest part of the world, where all the liberties of millions of men of all sorts of conditions, and ranks, are buryed in the glory and splendor of one Family; through which narrow channels, all honor and justice, all Law and reason are to run up and down the world.

And whereas the goodness, and beauty of government consists in the harmonious temperature of power, and obedience, of authority, and liberty, it hath been quite otherwise inverted by practise, and made apparent to lie in the Majestie, and greatness of the Monarch, and the absolute subjection, and servitude of the people; and the excellency, and sweetness of it rather to be seen in the presence-Chamber, and the magnificence, and grandeur of the Court, then in the Courts of Justice, and the rich and flourishing estate of the

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Kingdom, nothing being accounted more politicall, and glorious, then to have the Prince high, and the Subjects beggars; and yet this Ceremoniall way of Government, hath took most place in the world, and got almost divine adoration, and hath thrust out all other forms of Government, (equally sacred with it self, and most proportionable to the nature and benefits of societies, and the Fee-simple of all the liberties of the people (which are as their bloud and spirits in their veins) sold to maintain its State.

Besides many causes, and grounds of this degeneration (whereby so much misery hath overflowed the Nations of the world) I find two, which at present are principally to be mentioned; the first is the neglect of a right sence, and the often inculcating the originall, and end of government; and the next a lineal succession, or continuation of government, by a natural and supposed heirship; For want of the first, neither the people know their own rights, or how to maintain them; or the Governour his use and end, nor how to keep himself within the just bounds, and limits of his creation; for what between the stupidity, and ignorance of the people in not knowing their primitive priviledges, that they are the originall, and end of vernment; and the pride, and ambition of men, when once they have got power, forget both how they came by it, and to what end they are distinguished from other men, government comes both to be usurped, and tyrannicall. Did the people but know that their choice and election is the foundation of just authority, & that none can rule over them but whom they appoint, they would not then be drawn into controversies and debates, whether it be treason in them to cast off a bad Governour, who have the only power of chooſing a good one; and on the other side, if Kings, and Princes (for to reduce all to them who have been most guilty of the abuse of government) had but the continuall sence of the root from whence they sprung, and the duties annexed to their Offices, they could not look on themselves as rulers, but tyrants when they acted for their own private Prerogative, in distinction from, and contrarie to the liberties and freedoms of the people; but these considerations have been by time and prescription worn out of the mind and memories of both, partly through continual insinuations of Court Maxims, and the spirit of bondage in the people, and by force and usurpation in the Magistrate, whereby it hath gone a long while for currant, that the people have no power, nor the Prince no ac-

count to give but to God, from whom they challenge an immediate title, as if Kings and Princes, all their names, and ſucceſſions were let down from Heaven, in the ſame ſheet that the beaſts were in *Peters* viſion, and had not their root in the earth as all other Magiſtrates beſides. We have had much ado of late, but to beat off from theſe Royal notions, both by pens and ſwords, and yet ſtill they have too ſtrong a hold in moſt mens hearts, though to their own undoing.

Whereas all men are equally born free, and naturaliz'd into all the priviledges of freedom and juſt liberty, no man can obtain a ſpeciall power over any, but either *ex pacto aut ſcelere*, either by willing agreement, and conſent, which is the right and juſt way of title, and moſt naturall, or by conqueſt, and uſurpation, which is moſt exotick, and unjuſt; for the original of Kingly power, in the Scripture, we all know it came in as an effect of the wantonneſs, and diſcontents of the *Iſraelites*, againſt that ſpeciall way of government God himſelf had ſet over them; And view the Character God gives to them of that government, and not a bleſſing he gives them with it; for its riſe among the heathens, and nations (which knew not God (among whom that government moſt prevail'd;) it was certainly firſt good, and grounded on the exorbitancies, and exceſs of other Magiſtrates, and a high opinion of the juſtice, and vertue of ſome particluar perſons, as *Cicero lib. offic.* 2. excellently expreſſeth it; *Mihi quidem non apud Medos ſolum (ut ait Herodotus) ſed etiam apud majores noſtros, ſervandæ juſticiæ cauſa videntur olim bene morati Reges conſtituti: nam cum premeretur initio multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant virtute præſtantem.* As if taking it for granted that among all nations that preſervation, and execution of juſtice, with injoyning of vertue, was the firſt ground of the conſtitution of Kings; But they having got by their own goodneſs chief power and authority, uſe that favour they had gained from their own deſerts, to advance their own family; and having got in the affections of the people, through the ſence of their own preſent worth, what by power and force, and what by policy and craft, got the ſame power entailed on their heirs, and ſo by cuſtom have made ſucceſſion the onely right, or at leaſt the moſt juſt to Crowns, and Scepters.

A principle which hath more hindred the advance of Government, and run it on more hazards and miſchiefs then any other, where by a fatall Cuſtom, people muſt be irreparably con-

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tent with what they can finde, and reducing all to a blinde Fate' & Fortune, be he good, or prove bad, *talis, qualis*, give up both their own Wills and Liberties to such a succession, not only by a natural necessity, but a divine institution: How the world came to be so blinded, as thus to give away their Rights and Liberties, and morgage their understandings, and freedom, as bankrupts do their lands, is not to be determined, but by supposal of a judgement of God, and an over-reach of power and force, or by an *Ignis fatuus* of Policie and subtilty.

For this naturall and hereditary succession (which is now adored as the grand title) if truly considered, is nothing else but a continuation of conquest, or a surprisall by the good nature of the people, when they have been either low, and in fear, and taking advantage of their high esteem of some eminent person, who hath been more then ordinary instrumentall to them, have got the people to convey the same honor to their posterity after them; the peoples consent being thus ravished from them, Its made a law, both civil and divine to after generations; but the world is now, or should be grown wise: Let us consider the nature and use of this succession, both in general, and particular, especially as it hath been acted in *England*.

Among all the Catalogue of vanities which *Solomon* reckons up in his sacred retractations, there is none he puts such a character on, as for a man to spend his time and strength in getting of riches, and knows not who shall succeed him in the injoyment of the profit and good of his labour, or whether he may be a wise man or a fool; But what a misery, and worse then vanity is this, that the supream power of Government (in the right execution of which all the concernments of millions of men are interested) should be intailed on one man, (though never so deserving in his own person,) and the heirs of his body, be he good or bad, a wise man, or very nigh a fool, and so all their happiness depend on hap and hazard from generation to generation?

It cannot be rationally or spiritually supposed, that any man should be born a Magistrate or Governor, especially not successively, when the best men, and most choise spirits, who have had the highest eminencies of vertue, and best improvement of education, and natural genius, are hardly fit for so great a work. If Kings have such a *vis formativa* in their loyns, as to beget Kings in the likeness

of their Office, as children in the image of their natures, it must be necessarily supposed, that they must generate all these royall qualifications together with them, and by the same naturall necessity transfer all their princely endowments to them also.

Whereas I had almost affirmed it, (and I hope no man can account it either Heresie or Treason) that God himself cannot intail onany particular line of mankinde, the power and authority of Government out of his wisdom, and love to their happiness (without he meant to do it in judgement, and to plague the world) and not give them sutable and successive qualifications also, fit for that emploiment; It being Gods use (according to his wisdom, and righteousness) neither ordinarily nor extraordinarily to call out persons to any place, but he anoints them with proportionable gifts to it.

And yet the poor people (whom God hath naturally made free, and to make use of their own understandings and affections for their own good) are by this succession, bound up from the improvement either of soul or body, fain to be content with what they can get for present, and to shift it out from age to age (with the loss of all opportunities of choice) only with what corrupt nature brings them forth, which oftentimes travels sorely in pain with the curse of the Fathers who begat these Governors. Hence also it comes to pass, that oftentimes children are made Kings, and though they are uncapable at present for the actuall exercise of that office, yet are proclaimed, as having the right, and title, and all things acted in their name, and the whole Commonwealth, it may be of many Nations, must wait for his capacity with fear and hope, which capacity is also at best to be judged by his years, rather then fitness or qualification for so high a trust; and in the mean while the Kingdom must be governed by some Favorites of the last King, or some next kinsman to this; and while the King is thus in pupillage, we may well ask, who governs the Kingdom? And yet oftentimes it hath faln out, that their Government hath been better ordered in their nonage by others, then in their own by themselves, as appears especially in the raign of *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the sixth, Kings of *England*; the first being but nine years old when his father died, the latter but nine moneths; who while they were yong, and under the protection of certain wise and sober men, the Laws were administred uprightly, and with much Justice; but

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when they themſelves came to the years of Kingſhip, and Prerogative, ſo Royalled, that both Laws & Liberties were ſoon altered and aboliſhed, as anon the Reader ſhall have a more exact account; And how ſad is it, that when Government may be advanced as well, if not better by others in their minority, without their preſence or influence, the world muſt be at ſuch vaſt charges for a title, and to maintain it ere they can uſe it, and which is worſt, that when they come to exerciſe it themſelves, ſhould make their title the ground of their Tyranny. But if it ſo happen (for its a meer chance) that the next heir prove ſomewhat more then ordinary capable, yet what the next may prove, who knows? If he be an Infant, (as it many times falls out) then there muſt be patient and hopefull waitings, to ſee what he will be when grown up; untill that, there can be no further progreſs made in the alteration or reformation of affairs, though of never ſo great, and preſent concernment; and when he comes to theſe years which Cuſtom pronounceth him capable, how unreaſonable is it, that nothing can hinder, or exclude him from his Authority, but that he is incapable of being beg'd for a fool? It being enough, if he can koow his own name, and be able to write himſelf *Rex*, though he knows little what belongs to the Office, or relation of a King.

If he be one of riper years, and ſtature, on which this Succeſſion falls, then muſt all the obſervation of his nature, and the ominous, and more then Aſtrological aſpects of his conſtitution, and education be forgotten; and although ſilenced in his pretended title, and a full complyance looked after, though oppreſt with never ſo many fears, and ſecret wiſhes of a more hopefull Governour; yea, and though he hath been never ſo active againſt the liberties of the people, when but a Prince, and given demonſtrations what a Governor they may expect, yet his ſucceſſion muſt be his qualification, and indemnity, and his Title his vertue.

On this ground alſo it comes to paſs, that oftentimes women come to hold the rains of government; and to ſteer at the Helm, as wel as men; for if there be any defect of the male line, the female ſucceeds; and that feeble and weaker ſex, whom God & nature have ordained to be onely particular helps, and good Subjects, (only to keep up the name of a Family) muſt be inveſted with the higheſt authority, over the choiſeſt, and moſt ſelect ſpirits of many Nations, and all further thoughts of bettering the State of things utterly extinguiſh'd by a female pretence.

And

And which is most desperate by this succession, (and its plea of the only and absolute right) the fundamental liberties of the people are not onely insensibly undermined, but absolutely rooted up, and that birth-right priviledge of the people, their Election and choice, then which, they have nothing more naturall, and which is far more hereditary to them and theirs, then by all the Laws of God, nature, and reason, Crowns can be to Kings and their heirs, is quite extinguished; For pass by the first King, (who it may be as with us it hath been, came in by Conquest) you must go back in some Kingdoms five hundred, in others a thousand years, ere you can but recover the clear notion of a free election (wherin the peoples power and priveledge is alone and peculiarly seen) and yet that so faintly and hardly extorted from them, as great loans of mony from a cruel miser, without use or advantage; and though Election must be acknowledged at last, the first just ground of government, yet custom in successions soon wears out its right, and transfers it on the next bloud; And though in *England* it appears by the Coronation Oath, that there is even in succession a kind of election, yet its so limited in the line, that its as good as nothing, and so weak and implicitely manifested, that its but a meer customary Ceremony, which always is pursued by the natural title, and onely used to deceive the people, and as a step to the further confirmation of a more fundamentall, and sure right; and its easie to demonstrate it; for our Kings soon forget it, ere they come from *Westminster* to *Whitehall*, or from the chair of Inauguration to the Presence Chamber. In a word, what gives all this ground of such an inevitable and successively insensible incroachment on the laws and liberties of Nations, but this lineall title, whereby the Son without remedy goes on where the Father left off, and by a divine pretence seiseth on what by nature is due to the meanest subject, as to himself? And what makes the present Kings so daring, and venturous to raise their own prerogative, but this, that that they know there can be no alienation of the Crown from his heirs, and that they may make it better (that is more tyrannicall?) but surer they cannot? And thus there is a constant hope, and possibility, by continuation and propagation of principles, and designs, backed with title, and authority, that what cannot be done in one Kings reign, may be done in the next, and so on; For the minds of Princes are not usually contracted, or contented with present enjoyments; especially

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if there be any reſtraint on their wills, or more of heighth, or advancement to be attained unto.

Yea, this is one of the main reaſons (that in our times can be rendred) why we have had ſuch uneven actings, and ſuch ſtrange alterations in ſeveral Kings Raigns; the principles, and laws, the people have been always the ſame, who are capable of ſmall or no variation or change, but as higher, and ſupream influences move them, of which none hath been ſo powerfull as Princes, who as they are Stars of the firſt magnitude, ſo of the ſtrongeſt operations; and though the people be compared to the Sea, yet as the Sea, they have no turbulent motion of their own, but what is occaſioned by violent and uncertain winds; but the great change hath been by the temper, and actings of Princes, and commonly the next ſucceſſor hath been the omen and fate of the times; if any way good, then the Nation ſmiled, and his raign began the Spring; if probable, there was hopes; and yet both theſe at firſt promiſed, but at length fruſtrated; and however the beginnings were, yet the ſucceſſion of acts demonſtrated how the title was created; for untill they have made their ſucceſſion ſure, none have been more fair, and promiſing, but afterwards both Laws and Liberties, like favourites, have been advanced *ad placitum*; and what they have got an intereſt in by nature, that by prerogative they have centred in their own proper perſons, even the moſt fundamentall priviledges of the people, and have only granted Leaſes unto the people of their own inheritances, and dated them not for life (which would have been too great a mercy) but as long as the Royall pleaſure laſts, which changes alwayes with advantages. Yea, by this ſucceſſion Tyranny is ſo intailed, and all things ſo neceſſarily acted, as if the Prince were not onely the civil, but natural Parent of the people, and that Kings had begot the people as ſo many Baſtards to obey, as they do beget one lawfully to raign over them.

Its too well known, that good and wiſe men are the feweſt of the ſons of men, and are commonly pickt out here, and there, as rich pearls on the ſhoar of violent torrents; but to expect in one Line, and Family, a ſucceſſion of good, wiſe, and governing men, is almoſt as probable to Chriſtians, as to expect Mahomets ſecond coming among the *Turks*, after ſo many hundred years deluſion; and although it muſt be acknowledged, that there have been ſome good Kings, yet they have been ſo few, that as their names

from the beginning of the world can hardly make up the Dominical letters in the Almanack, or possibly supply the Holydayes in the year, so a little goodness hath gon far, and at the best we shall finde it but comparative; good Kings instead of better Governors, as some of the *Roman Cesars*, chose those to succeed them who were worse then themselves, that they might commend, and set off their own Raign, though tyrannicall enough in it self; and we may without any passion demonstrate, that the design by succession hath been rather to keep up the Governors, and palliate their vices, then ever to maintain or highthen the glory, and splendor, or carry on the benefit of the Government it Self in the execution of good and righteous Laws.

But to come nigher home, and leave generals (granting Succession in it self to be a good title) let us view without partiality, the succession of the Kings of *England*, whereby they plead their title to the Crown, and we shall find in our Histories, that nothing hath been more commonly interrupted, then a succession of the next Heir; and for this seaven or eight hundred years (if not more) we have not had succession continued in any even line or just right, and no title was ever more broken, and unjust, then of our Kings, if they make a Lineall, and Hereditary succession the foundation of their right; Let us look but a little back to those which preceded the *Norman* race, especially among the *Saxons* and *Danes*, the ancient competitors for the Government of this Nation, and it will appear, that the right Heir hath been commonly past by; and Strangers or Usurpers preferred; to go no further back then to *Alfred* King of the West *Saxons*, and the twenty fourth Monarch of the *Englishmen*; as soon as he died, *Athelstan* his Bastard was preferred before his legitimate son *Edmond*, & after him got his own brother *Edmond* to succeed him; and though this *Edmond* left two sons, *Edwin*, and *Edgar*, yet as he & his former brother had usurped the Government, so *Edred* his brother stept into the Throne, and put them by until he had finished his Raign, & then they took their turns; *Edwin* first, and *Edgar* after him; this *Edgar* had two wives, *Ethelfled* his first, and *Elfrida* the second: by the first he had issue, *Edward*, sirnamed the Martyr, who succeeded his father in title; but having hardly felt the Crown warm, and fast on his head, was cruelly murthered, to make way for the second wives son *Ethelred* who succeeded him, as *Daniel* well expresseth it, whose entrance into his

Dan. Hist. p. 14. Speed.

Raign

Raign was blood, the middle misery, and the end confusion; and though he left his son *Edmond*, sirnamed *Ironside*, to succeed him, yet *Canutus* the *Dane* by compact got half of the Kingdom from him, and soon after the whole, setting up his *Danish* title, and murthering the two sons *Edmund* had left, with his brother *Edwin*, that no further pretence might be made by them of their title; and now come the *Danes* to convey their title by (*Canutus*; and yet *Harold* his bastard gets the Crown before *Hardicanute*, who was his legitimate son; and among these three Kings (for the Government under the *Danes* continued but twenty six years, and only under these three was a one Usurper, & immediatly interrupted the right of succession. And the *Danes* Government being ended, which was but an intervall of conquest) the *Saxons* regain their title; and *Edward*, called the *Confessor*, the seventh son of *Elthelred* (who came in with the murther of the right heir) being kept as a reserve in *Normandy*) is elected King, and the *Saxons* title now begins to revive, but soon its extinguished, not onely by the *Norman* pretence, but by the next successor, *Harold* the second, son to *Goodwin*, Earl of *Kent*, who came in with the expulsion of *Edgar Athlings* the proper successor. *Speed.*

And with *Harold* ended the *Saxon* race, which had lasted about five hundred years, after the coming in of *Hengist*, and their Plantation in this Kingdom; and yet you see what have been the titles successively of these former Kings, wherein the Line hath not onely been now and then through force and violence cut off and discontinued, but usurpation solemnized with as much ceremony as any natural pretence: but these Instances are but as representations of objects afar off, which may seem otherwise then they are; we will go on and review the title of our Kings from *William* the *Norman*, Sirnamed the Conqueror, and by whom, not onely the line, but all the whole fram of Laws and Liberties were not onely curtail'd but changed; for though in the raigns of the former Kings, every Conqueror made his impression, and drew his Picture in *England*, yet never was the whole Scene of State changed untill now, and a new Modell so peremptorily (and without repeal) introduced, as by him: The first *jus*, or right of his title (the onely foundation of all the rest of our latter Kings (we all know was by meer Conquest, which as it is a disseisin in Law, so an unjust title in Reason, and common to one as unto another: yet he though a Bastard, (and so had

had leſs title to his Dukedom then to *England* which he won by the Sword) made himſelf the principal of that divine Succeſſion we now ſtand upon, and all our Kings have no other pretence then by the ſucceſſion of his Sword; and certainly, if the Fountain, and Head-Spring be corrupt, the ſtream cannot be Chriſtall and pure; and yet (as Baron *Thorpe* declares in his Charge given at the Aſſizes holden at *Yorke* the twentieth of *March*, 1648. and now in Print) of all theſe twenty four *Kings*, which have *King'd* it amongſt us ſince that *William*, there are but ſeven of them that could pretend legalty to ſucceed their former predeceſſors, either by lineal, or collaterall title, (and he might have contracted that number, and have been modeſt enough.) But that the Reader may not be prejudiced, or wrap up his underſtanding in any expreſſion, let him but follow the diſcents of the *Kings* of *England* in the line, (and pardon the firſt ſtrange and exotick way of right) and he will diſcover, that as the firſt title was created by force, ſo the ſucceſſion hath been continued by uſurpation. *Speed* (too Royall a Writer) gives us a hint to go on upon in the Life of *Henry* the Fourth, page 746. (asketh by way of Interrogation) What right had *Will.* the Conqueror, the Father of all our glorious Tyrants? What right (we ſpeak, ſaith he, of a right of equity) had his ſon *William Rufus*, and *Henry* the firſt, while their elder brother lived? and ſo he goes on. But to give a more particular account to the Reader, how every *King* came to his Crown, Let us begin with the firſt of the firſt.

After that the firſt *William*, who laid the foundation of his right in the blood of the *Engliſh*, had left this world, as well as his Kingdom, great ſtrivings there were who ſhould ſucceed; and though he left three ſons, *Robert*, *William*, and *Henry*, yet could leave but one Heir, which was *Robert*; yet *William* ſurnamed *Rufus*, gets the crown ſet on his head, notwithſtanding the elder brothers title, and though *Robert* fights for his right, yet being too weak in the field, is forc't to a compoſition, on theſe terms that he ſhould injoy it after his deceaſe, if he hapned to ſurvive; and yet notwithſtanding, *Henry* the youngeſt brother (called *Henry* the firſt) ſteps in, and makes uſe of his brothers abſence to ſet up himſelf in his place; and *Robert* yet ſurviving, he weares it in his ſtead, and however he ſtrove to regain his right, he at laſt was fain to yield up, not only his title, but his perſon to *Henry*, who not only unjuſtly excluded him from the ſucceſſion to the Kingdom, but cruelly put out his eyes that he might

might only feel his misery, and never see his remedy. The line male of the Conqueror is now extinct, as well as it was irregularly diverted; as *William* got his right by his Sword, so all his successors maintained it in imitation of him, rather then by any legal pretence they could derive from him. But *Henry* the first (though he had come in over the back of his elder brother) that he might make more sure work for a succession, wanting issue male living, pitcheth on *Maud* his daughter, formerly married to the Emperor *Henry* the fourth, who left her a widow, and died without issue; and having sworn all the Nobility (especially *Stephen*) to her, ordained her & her issue to be his successors in *Englands* Throne, and married her again to *Jeoffrey Plantagenet*, the son and heir apparent of *Fulk*, then Earl of *Anjou*, by whom she had three sons, *Henry*, *Jeffrey*, and *William*; to *Henry* the Crown belonged as next heir after his mother (by the usurped title of his father,) yet *Stephen*, Earl of *Mortain*, and *Bulloign*, son to *Adelincia* the third daughter of *William* the Conqueror, by *Maud* his wife, (notwithstanding his oath to the last King) gets the Crown set on his own head, and excludes her, and her issue for the present; yet after he died, *Henry*, called the second, sirnamed *Shortmantle*, though his mother was alive, enjoys it. This *Henry* had six sons, *William*, *Henry Richard*, *Jeoffrey*, *Philip*, *John*; the two first dying, *Richard* the third son, the first of that name, Sirnamed *Ceur de Lyon* succeeded his father; this *Richard* dying without issue, his yongest brother *John* usurps the Crown, notwithstanding *Jeoffrey* his elder brother had left a young son, named *Arthur Plantaganet King* of *Brittain*, who was heir apparant to the Crown; and after he dyed, *Henry* his son the third of that name succeedes him, though *Arthurs* sister was then alive, (though in prison) who was next to the title (such as it was); after him *Edward* sirnamed *Longshankes*, called *Edward* the first, layes hold on the Crown and wore it with much majesty, and after him *Edward* the second his son goes on, but still on the old account, and on the ruine of the most proper heirs; this *Edward* was deposed by the Parliament for his ill government as anon shall be more fully related; and his son *Edward* the third of that name set up in his room; after him followed *Richard* the second, son to the black Prince, who was also deposed, after whose dethroning, *Henry* called the fourth, son to *John* of *Gant* Duke of *Lancaster*, and uncle to the former King, snatcheth up the Crown, though of right it was to discend to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, the son and heir of *Lionel* Duke

of *Clarence*, the third ſon of *Edward* the third, and an elder brother of *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*; and thus we have nothing hitherto, but interruption, and uſurpation; and thoſe which in their own reigns can pretend a divine title by ſucceſſion, which muſt not be altered, can for their advantage put by the ſucceſſion of the iſſue of others. But to go on, Here now began the bloody wars, and conteſts between the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and *York*, which made the world to ring of the miſery of the civill wars of *England*, and all about a title, and neither of them (if ſeriouſly weighed) had a right title by ſucceſſion, if the firſt title of their Anceſtors were to be the originall; But that cuſtome might be the beſt right, he got in his ſon *Henry*, who was the fifth of that name, to ſucceed; and his ſon *Henry* the ſixt (though an infant) takes his place, untill *Edward* Duke of *York* overthrew his Army in the battle at *Towton* Field, and got him depoſed, and was proclaimed King by the name of *Edward* the fourth, though the title had been carried on in the Houſe of *Lancaſter* thorow three diſcents; thus favor, and fortune, not lineall ſucceſſion alwayes gave the beſt title; this *Edward* left two ſons behind him, (to maintain the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of *York*) *Edward* and *Richard* Duke of *York*, and five daughters. His eldeſt Son *Edward* who was the fifth of that name, ſucceeded him in claim, & title, but rather lived then raigned (being an infant) had never any actuall exerciſe of his government; for *Ric*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Uncle to this Infant, and made his Protector, that he might ſet up himſelf, cauſeth both the young titular King, & his Brother, (theſe two Royall Infants) to be barbarouſly murthered in their beds, and ſo wears the Crown himſelf, by the name of *Richard* the Third, untill *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* (a twigg of a Baſtard of *John* of *Gaunt*) by his valour at *Boſworth* field, having overthrown his Army, ſlew the Tyrant himſelf, and created by his ſword (for other he had none) a new title to himſelf, and was Crowned King, by the name of *Henry* the Seventh, who, what by his power and by a marriage of the Lady *Eliz.* the eldeſt daughter of *Ed.* the Fourth, confirmed his ſucceſſion, & from him do all our later Princes derive their Title, as *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, *Queen Mary*, *Queen Elizabeth*, King *James*, and our laſt Tyrant *Charls*. This *Henry*, the foundation of our great ones, was himſelf but a private man, who as *Speed* ſays, had ſcarce any thing of a juſt title, or of a warrantable intention, but to remove an Uſurper; beſides there were many naturall heirs

of

of the houſe of *York*, which were children of *Edward* the Fourth, and *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richards* elder brother, who had better right: but when once a title is made, it muſt be maintained, and if it can but get thorow two or three Succeſſors, its preſently proclaimed to be *jure divino*, and pleaded as the onely juſt title and right.

Thus you have a faithfull, and true account of the ſucceſſion of our *Norman Monarchs*; we can onely ſay we have had ſo many perſons raigning, and as Kings of *England*; but for a title by lineal ſucceſſion, there is none, but what every man may make aſwell as any man, and what is as proper to a ſtranger, as to an heir; power, and favour, murther and deceit being the moſt common principles of the right of moſt of our Kings to their government over us. If it be asked, as *Speed* doth, What right had *William* the Conqueror? then it muſt follow, What right had all the reſt? but ſuppoſing his right, What right had theſe, who ſo many times cut off the line, and made themſelves the Stock of future ſucceſſion? and what miſery is it that this broken and uſurped title muſt ſtill be forced on us, even by an Eccleſiaſticall, and Divine Inſtitution, who have now a way of redeeming our liberties, and bettering our conditions, and following the direct line of juſt and true titles, the Election and choice of the people? Is not five or ſix hundred year enough for *England* to be under the ſucceſſion of a *Norman* Baſtard (pardon the expreſſion, its true though plain) and to be ſold with all its liberties, from uſurpation to uſurpation, as well as from generation to generation? I need not be very zealous in application, the hiſtory is enough to make all wiſe men conſider, by whom we have all this while been governed, and upon what terms; How tyranny and uſurpation comes to be adored, if it have but a royall name added to it. Shall the Parliament of *England* be now blamed for cutting off that race of uſurpers and tyrants, and reducing affairs to their firſt naturall and right principle; or will the people of *England* after all their experiences, centre their liberties and freedoms in a cuſtomary uſurpation of ſucceſſion, and loſe their Commonwealth for the perſonall glory of a young Pretender? eſpecially, when they have fought againſt the Father, and cut him off as a Tyrant, endeavour to ſet up the Son to follow on both the firſt cauſe, and revenge, meerly becauſe he was ſuppoſed to be proceeded of his polluted loyns: this blindneſs will be our miſery, and endear us

to

to a more perfect and more tyrannicall slavery then ever yet *England* felt.

But to go on, the Reader hath seen what a line we have had in *England*, and how pure a title our Kings have had to their Crowns; Lets now but have patience to view their actings successively, and yet shortly, and we shall better guess of their right by their raigns; for though one would think that they should endeavour to make good a bad title by a good raign, yet it hath been far otherwise; every man having made his right by force, maintained it by tyranny; and when they have gotten power, never remembered how, or to what end they attained it; if we look back again, and make a new and strict survey of their severall actings in their Government, and go over every Kings head since *Willam* the Conqueror, we shall not much mistake if we pass by *Turkie*, *Russia*, the *Moors*, and yet call *Englands* Kings Tyrants, and their Subjects Slaves; and however in the theory, and System it have been limited, and bounded by good and distinguishing Laws, yet in the exercise and practique part almost of every *Kings* Raign, we shall find it deserve as bad a name as others who are called most absolute; for the Laws and Priviledges which this poor Nation hath enjoyed, as they have been but complementally granted for the most part, and with much design, so they have ever (upon any occasion) proved but weak and low hedges against the Spring-tides, and Land floods of the Prerogative of the Prince, which hath always gained more on the priviledges of the people, then ever the Sea by all its washing and beatings of its boysterous and unmerciful waves hath gained on the Land; for if at any time the poor Commons (through much strugling, and a good and present necessitous mood of the Prince) have got off any present oppressions, and forced out the promise for enacting of any good and seasonable Laws: yet either the next advantage, or at least the next successor, hath been sure, either to silence, or diannul it, and incroached upon it; and never was Priviledge or good Law enacted, or gained to the people, but by hard pressure of the Subject, and with a predominant ingredient of the *Kings* advantage, and still rather out of courtesie then right. We shall finde also that *England* for three or four hundred years together (some *lucida intervalla* excepted) hath been a stage of blood, and the astonishment of all Nations in civil wars, and that meerly, either for the clearing of the title to the Crown

(which

(which yet at last was onely made lawfull by the prevailing power, and as soon made illegall when another side got the better) or else by the Subject and Barons, taking up arms to defend themselves, and make Rampiers (if possible) against the inundation of Prerogative, and rather preserving, then obtaining any additions of liberties, and yet they were commonly defeated at last; for if for the present by some eminent advantage, they got a little ground, they soon lost it again by royal stratagems, and were either forced, or complemented into their old miseries, with a worse remembrance of former actings. But to enter into the particulars of this sad Story:

All men know (or may) the tyrannical domination of that first *William*, who behaved himself as a Conqueror indeed, and a most perfect tyrant (since whom we have never had an *English* man, but one, who hath been naturalized by the succession of his Conquest as King of *England*) he presently changed most of our Laws, especially those wherein the *English* liberties were most transparent, and preserved, and made new Laws, and those which he left, writ them all in *French*; disweaponed all the Natives, sent the children of the best, and most faithful of the Nobility into *Normandy* as Hostages, and the most gallant of the *English* were transported by him into *France* to serve his wars, that he might extinguish their Families; he advanced his *Normans* into all places of the Nation, and kept them as a guard over the *English*; brought in the cruel Forrest Laws, and dispeopled for thirty miles together in *Hampshire*, pulling down many Towns, and Villages, with Churches, Chappels, and Gentlemens Houses, making it a Forrest for wilde beasts, (which is ever since named the *New Forrest*, but was the old ensign of our misery and slavery) he laid on innumerable taxes, and made Laws royal, very severe, and in an unknown Language, that the *English* offending might forfeit their states and lands to him, which they often did, through ignorance: But alas, what need I mention these? who ever reads but our Histories, (and the most favorable, and fawning Royalist) will see more then now can be expressed; and yet here is the first fruits of our *Kings* and of their righteous title, whose succession hath been as much in tyranny after him, as in title: and yet we must, by a sacred obligation be bound to maintain with our blood, and lives, the branches of this rotten root, notwithstanding all the providential, and divine opportunities

of casting off that miserable yoak which our forefathers, so sadly groaned under, and would have triumphed in the pouring out their blood (which they shed freely, but to little purpose) but to have foreseen their childrens children might have but the hopes of attaining to.

William Rufus. But although *William* the first made sure his Conquest to his own person, yet by his tyranny he gave ground of designs, and hopes of recovery after his death, & therefore the people who but murmured and mourned in secret formerly, consider now their condition, and that *Robert* the right heir was wanting, and his second son endeavored to be set up, begin to capitulate, and repeat their former grievances, and to stand upon their terms, with the next Successors; But *William Rufus* who longed for the Crown, and saw what advantage he had by his brothers absence, through the mediation of *Lanke-Frank*, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* (a man for his vertue and learning in great esteem with the people) got himself to be accepted, and crowned King (with exclusion of his elder brother) by fair promises, and engagements to repeal his fathers Laws, and of promoting the liberties of the *English* (any probability being then taking to the poor people.) But no sooner had he got the Crown fastned on his head, (and defeated his brother in battle) but he forgat all his own promises, follows directly his fathers steps, grows excessive covetous, lays on intolerable taxes, and merciless exactions, returns their longings, and hopes after their just liberties into a sad bondage and slavery. The poor people having thus smarted for their credulity, & renewing their sense of their misery, under the two former tyrants, take heart once again, and refuse to admit any after his death, until (as Judge *Thorpe* well expresseth it in that forementioned discourse) they were cheated into a second election of *Hen.* the first, his youngest brother; for the people standing for their Liberties (and yet, alas, but negatively, rather to be freed from excess of oppression, then knowing what true freedom was) having felt the misery of their loss in the two former persons (shall I call them *Kings?*) Reign, denied any consent to another person of that stock without solemn capitulations, and covenants to settle just Laws, and to ingage for the execution of them, with abrogation of all former mischievous and inconvenient ones, (which *Matthew Paris* calls unworthily, a Politique, but crafterous way of capitulating.) Whereupon *Henry*, who had nothing of title, made friends by his engagements

engagements, and *Roberts* absence in the *Holy-land*, and doth absolutely promise to begin all anew, constitute just laws, reform his Fathers, and brothers exorbitancies, and to be as a Nursing Father both to Church and State; these fair insinuations got him the Crown, though *Robert* was to have it first by his own right, and next by his Brothers Covenant and Will.

Dan. life of *Henry* the first.

And that he might not seem altogether disproportionable to his engagement, the first action of his government was to bait the people, and sugar their subjection, as his predecessor in the like interposition had done, but with more moderation and advisedness; but having once secured his title from his Brothers *jus*, and settled some affairs abroad, began much after the old strain, (yet not altogether so violent) yet these cruel and savage Laws of the forrest he revived, and put in execution, yea, urged as the most fundamentall Law of the Realm, and many sore impositions he levied (which the people were not able to bear;) that these two sons, though they ended the direct line, yet they propagated their Fathers tyranny; onely he got the throne by force, they by subtilty, and delusive engagements; and now the poor people, who had still been cozened, and are commonly passive, begin in the next Kings reign, (*viz.* of *Stephen*, another Usurper) to be active, and to struggle for their liberties more seriously and thorowly, and not contented with promises of abating former pressures, drew up the summ of their desires in a more exact method, and demand publikely the restoring and re-establishing of St. *Edwards* Laws (for such a rarity was that former Prince, as they Canonized him a Saint) which were many years before granted, but by new and strange successions buried; and *Stephen*, who came unduly to the Crown, and was continually in various motions to maintain it, confirmed all these laws, and to gain the people, ratified them by Parliament, the best security in these cases. But soon after Prerogative (like a Lion in chains) breaks forth again with fuller rage and devours all these grants, with the hopes, and expectations of the people; for though in the two next Kings raigns these grants were not actually repealed, yet were laid by, and only wrapt up in parchments, and husht by the noise of Drums, and Trumpets. For *Henry* the Second, the next King, spent most of his time in steering the controversie between *Regnum & Sacerdotium*, the Crown and the Mitre, as in setling his own Title both here, and in *Normandy*, and *Ireland*; a while he and *Thomas Becket*

 were

were ſtanding in the ſpecial rights, and priviledges of the Church, and State, the liberties of the people were laid aſleep, and certainly he hated the former grants, becauſe made by *Stephen*, who had ſtoln the Crown both from his Mother, and himſelf; the notableſt ſtory in this Kings reign (ſetting by his warlike atchievements) is, that after *Becket* had often foiled him in his authority, he was handſomly whipt by the Monks, in going to viſit *Beckets* ſhrine, which was part of his pennance, for giving ſecret order to Aſſaſinats to make him away; And that he kept *Roſamond* as his Concubine, to the vexation of *Elenor* his Wife, who at laſt vented her revenge on her, having found her out in that intricate Labyrinth made on purpoſe for her at *Woodſtock*, by the clew which *Roſamond* had careleſly untwiſted.

The next that laid claim to this Crown, was his ſon *Richard* the firſt, ſurnamed *Ceur de Lion* (as before) who was to be commended rather for his perſonal valour, in other Nations, then for any good done to this; He began well in enlarging his Mother *Elenor*, whom his Father had impriſoned, becauſe ſhe could not abide his laſcivious living with his wanton Paragon *Roſamond*, and advanced many perſons by ſpeciall favours; yet theſe reſpects were more particular, then of any publike advantage to the State; for out of a blind zeal in thoſe times, after he had been in *England* but four months after his Coronation, he went into the *Holy-land*, againſt the *Turks*, leaving the Regency of the Kingdom to an Eccleſiaſticall Perſon, *William Longchampe*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who to pleaſe the King, and by ſpeciall command, undid the people, and committed great exactions, and as *Hoveden* ſays, *Clerum & populum opprimebat, confundens faſq; nefaſq*; did all as he liſted, and little cared by what means he filled the Kings Coffers, and his own; (acting but by Proxie and in imitation of what his Maſter would have done, if at home, & by many a private command) as it afterwards proved; for when *Richard* undertook this voyage, that he might not ſeem at firſt burthenſom to the people when he left them, and to maintain both his deſign, and abſence on their purſes (and ſo alienate their affections from him when at ſo great a diſtance, and give grounds to his Brother *John* to try an experiment for the title) wiſely ſold much of his own eſtate to raiſe him monies, as the Caſtles of *Berwick*, and *Roxborough*, to the King of *Scots* for ten thouſand pounds, and the Lordſhip, and Earldom of *Durham*, to *Hugh* then

Biſhop

Bishop of that See, for much mony, as also many Honors, Lordships, Mannors, Offices, Priviledges, Royalties, to many of the Nobles, and rich Commoners, whereby he furnished himself with a vast treasurie of mony for that service; and that you may see what interest he and his companions think they have in his peoples goods (however they dissemble it) he often protested that he would sell his City of *London* (as my Author saith) to any that would by it, rather then be chargeable unto others; but notwithstanding all this, as the people were sadly oppresst in his absence by his Viceroy, so much more when he returned by himself; for he then began to redeem his time, and to play *Rex* with a witness; he fell presently to plunder all religious houses, laid on new and unheard of Taxes on the people, and resumed into his hands again all the Lordships, Mannors, Castles, &c. which he had sold to his subjects, and confirmed it by all the security they could have from man; this is the misery of depending on royal promises, and engagements, which are usually nothing else but complementall engins to move up the peoples affections, while they more easily, and insensibly drain out their blood, and purses, this was the end of this Rough, and Lionlike King, who reigned nine years, and nine months, wherein he exacted and consumed more of this Kingdom then all his Predecessors from the *Norman* had done before him, and yet less deserved it then any, having neither lived here, nor left behind him monument of piety, or any publike work, or ever shewed love or care to this Common-wealth, but onely to get what he could from it; we see hitherto what a race of Kings we have had, and what cause we have to glory in any thing but their Tombs; and yet if we expect better afterwards, we shall be as much mistaken of their actings as they were of their right.

The next that raigned (though without any hereditary title) was King *John*, *Stephens* Brother; whose government was as unjust as his title, for he (having by Election, out of fear and policy of State, got the Crown, with expulsion of *Arthur* the right heir *ut supra*) embarked the State, and himself in these miserable incumberances, through his violence and oppression, as produced desperate effects, and made way to those great alterations in the government which followed; the whole reign of this King was a perfect tyranny; there is in History hardly one good word given him; the Barons and Clergy continually opposed him, strugling for a confirmation of Dun.

their long desired liberties, but were most commonly either eluded, or defeated by promises which were never intended to be performed, until at last being more entirely united with the Commons, and stoutly resolved and confirmed by an Oath, taken at St. *Edmunds-Burie* in a general Assembly, they then swore on the high Altar, never to lay down arms, if King *John* refused to confirm and restore unto them these liberties (the rights which this Kingdom was formerly blest with, and which all the late Kings had cheated them of) the King knowing their power, and considering their engagements, makes use of policy, and desired time to answer them, entertaining them with smooth and gentle language, and courtesie, until he had got strength, and then he began anew to try experiments of securing himself, and frustrating their desires: But the Lords continuing their resolution, and knowing nothing was to be obtained but by strong hand, assemble themselves with a great Army at *Stamford*, from whence they marched towards the King, who was then at *Oxford*; sent him a Schedule of their claimed liberties, with an Appendix of their absolute resolutions, in case of his denyal; this Tyrant having heard them read, with much passion replies: *Why do they not demand the Kingdom as well* and swore he would never grant these liberties, whereby himself should be made a servant. The Barons upon his Answer being (as *Daniel* saith) as hasty as he was averse, resolve to seaze on his Castles, and Possessions; and repairing to *London*, being welcomed by the Citizens, who had too long groaned under the same tyranny, they get a great access of strength by new confederates, and renew their spirits & oaths for the thorow prosecution of the war; the King seeing himself in a strait, which by no ordinary strength he could evade, by gentle and seeming Messages sent to the Barons, he obtained a Conference in a Medow called *Running-mead*, between *Windsor* and *Staines*, where armed multitudes came from all places, crying nothing but *Liberty, Liberty*, so sweet was that tone to them then: After many hard Conferences, the King seeing it no time to dally, & that they would not trust him with any complemental expressions, whom they looked on as formerly perjured, grants their desires; not only, saith *Speed*, for Liberties specified in *Magna Charta* & *Charta Foresta*, but also for a kind of sway in the Government, by five and twenty selected Peers, who were to be as a check over the King, and his chief Justiciar, and all his Officers to whom any appeal might be made in

case

caſe of breach of any article or priviledge confirmed by that Charter; And now one would think the people were ſecure enough; but though they ſeem now to have the livery, yet they had not the ſeiſin; for preſently the King having got now credit by the largeneſs of his grants, gets liberty with leſs ſuſpicion, to undo all; and in a ſhort time (pretending theſe grants to be acts of force) having got power, renounceth his engagement by them, and afterwards repeals them, and diſpoiled all theſe of their lands and poſſeſſions, who had any hand, or heart in procuring the former grants; and by new, and additionall Laws made them more perfect ſlaves then ever they were before, untill at laſt he was poyſoned by a Monk, inſtead of being depoſed.

But though he be dead, yet the miſeries of this Nation ended not with him; for his ſon *Henry* the third; who ſucceeded him, though he could not at firſt follow on his Fathers deſigns, being an Infant, yet at laſt did not onely imitate, but outſtrip him; yet the *Engliſh* Nation, (who are much given to credulity, and apt to be won by fair and plauſible promiſes,) notwithſtanding all the fathers iniquity, imbrace the ſon, having taken an oath of him to reſtore, and confirm the liberties they propounded to his father, which he had often granted, and as often broken; but for all his firſt oath, they were fain, not onely to remember him of it by petitions, but oftentimes by arms and ſtrength. And though there was in this Kings Raign twenty one Parliaments called, and many great Subſidies granted, in confirmation of their liberties, yet every Parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, but the ingagement ceaſed; a hint of two or three ſpecial Parliaments, and their ſucceſs will not be amiſs to be ſet down in this place.

This *King* not being able to ſuppreſs the Barons and people by his own ſtrength, (they having gotten not onely heart, but power) ſends to forraign Nations for aid, and entertains *Poictovines, Italians, Almains, Provinciors* to ſubdue his own people, and ſet them in great places; which dangerous and deſperate deſign the Barons much reſenting, raiſed their ſpirits, and ingaged them in oppoſition to his Government, and ſet them on with more courage to look after their liberties; therefore they ſeveral times ſtand up againſt the violence of Prerogative; but what through want of ſtrength or caution they were commonly diſappointed; yet rather (if we may ſpeak truly) from the unfaithfulneſs of the *King* then

any

any other defect, except it were their easines to believe *Kings*, when their Prerogative, and the peoples liberties came in competition; for after they had many times got, or rather extorted many promises, and confirmed them by oaths, (the best humane security) they were put to new designs, through either the suspention, or breach of them, witness these Instances; after many foiles, and tedious and various delusions by this *King* (whose beams attracted most, dazled others) the Barons, and people (who were then unanimous through mutual oppressions) fall more close, and severe on their principles, and wil not endure either delays, or delusions, and therefore effectually to redress their grievances, came very well armed to a Parliament then holden at *Oxford* (intended rather for getting Subsidies, then removing oppressions) in which Assembly they put the King to it, urge their former complaints with more zeal and reason, and with an addition of a mighty spirit, demand the absolute confirmation of *Magna Charta*, and in a larger edition (wherein are comprised those gallant priviledges of the Commons of *England*, which have yet been but kept by Ink, and Parchment) and not trusting the King, got his son, Prince *Edward*, to seal it, with an addition of twenty four (some write twelve) Peers which *Fabian* stiles the *douze Peeres*, not only to see these priviledges truly observed, but to be as joynt Regents with the King; and all the Lords, and Bishops in Parliament took a like Oath, to maintain these Articles inviolable; yea, and all that would have any benefit of residence in the Kingdom, were enjoyned to take the same; But these were too strict bonds for such a Princes wil, he soon finding advantages (as he sought them) recals all, gets a dispensation from the Pope for his forced Oath and to countenance his perjurie, and acts in the old account; the Barons again stand up with the people stoutly for the performance of the Articles of *Oxford*; and sometimes brought him into straits; yea, fully defeated him in many bloody battles, and regained the confirmation of the same laws, with security; that all the Castles throughout *England* should be delivered to the keeping of the Barons, that the provisions of *Oxford* be inviolably preserved, that all strangers should be dismist the Kingdom, but those which by generall consent should be thought fit to remain; this necessitous act though as it gave the people some peace and hopes, so it gave the King time to consider of new *mediums*, and therefore still to delay, and blind, he Assembles a new Par-

Pryn.

Mat. Paru p. 961
Dan. Hist. p. 179.

Parliament at *London*, where having (by the ſprinkling of Court water) won many Lords to take his part, begins to ſurpriſe as many of the Barons as he could get, and ſpoiled their Caſtles and Houſes, that ſucceſs and authority grows ſtrong on his ſide, and the Barons with ſome calme proviſoes mediate a peace, inſiſting onely in generall that the Articles of *Oxford* might be obſerved; But the King relying on his ſtrength, defies them as Traitors; which done, the peoples two Generals, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, ſeeing no other means but to put it to a day, ſupply their want of ſtrength by their wit and diligence, and carefully and artificially placing their battel (which was fought at the Town of *Lewis* in *Suſſex*) overthrew the Kings Army, took the King, the Prince, the Earl of *Cornwal*, and his ſon *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Hereford*, with many other Lords, and Gentlemen, both *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh*.

And now having the King, and Prince, and moſt of the Nobles, and a new confirmation of all, one would think the great Charter was out of danger, either of blotting or razing; eſpecially if we conſider the ſolemnities formerly uſed in the ratification of it, (as *Daniel* excellently relates it in his hiſtory, *p.* 169.) The people knowing that no civil promiſes, or verbal profeſſions would hold in Kings tapeſtred by Prerogative, & devoted to perjury to maintain their tyranny, take a more Eccleſiaſticall and divine way of obligation, ſwearing to excommunicate all that ſhould be found infringers of that Charter; when the people with the King, and all the great Nobility were aſſembled with all the Prelates, and the chief Biſhops in their reverent ornaments (with burning Candles in their hands) to receive that dreadfull ſentence; the King having one great Candle in his hand, gives it to a Prelate that ſtood by, ſaying, it becomes not me being no Prieſt to hold this Candle, my heart ſhall be a greater teſtimony; and withall laid his hand ſpred on his breaſt all the while the ſentence was pronouncing, which was *Authoritate omnipotentis Dei, &c.* which done, he cauſed the Charter of King *John* his Father to be read, and in the end having thrown away their Candles (which lay ſmoaking on the ground) they cryed out, *ſo let them that incurre this ſentence be extinct and ſtruck in Hell*; And the King with a loud voice ſaid, *As God help me, ſaid he, as I am a man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, a King Crowned and Anointed, inviolably obſerve theſe things.* Never were Laws ſaith he (whoſe words ex-

preſs the thing moſt emphatically) amongſt men (except thoſe holy Commandments from the Mount) eſtabliſhed with more Majeſtie of Ceremony, to make them reverenced, and reſpected, then theſe were; they wanted but thunder, and lightning from heaven, (which likewiſe if prayers could have effected they would have had it) to make the ſentence ghaſtly, and hideous to the breakers of it; the greateſt ſecurity that could be given was an Oath (the onely chain on earth beſides love, to tye the conſcience of a man, and humane ſocietie together) which ſhould it not hold us, all the frame of Government muſt needs fall quite aſunder; yet ſo (almoſt a miracle (though over common among our Kings, ſaith Maſter *Prin* out of *Mat. Paris*) the Parliament being thus diſſolved (by a ſacred and moſt ſolemn concluſion) the King preſently ſtudies how to infringe all the premiſes, his Paraſites telling him the Pope could ſoon abſolve him for a ſumm of mony, which afterwards the Pope did, and the King returned to his former oppreſſive courſes with more violence, and hardneſs; and taking advantage by the diviſion of the Barons, two Generals, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, the latter of which joyned with the young Prince *Edward*, and Sir *Roger Mortimer* the Kings wicked Counſellor, a new and potent Army is raiſed by them, againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter* (who had the King priſoner) and thoſe which kept conſtant with him for the Peoples Liberties; and he with the reſt of the Barons, are overthrown; and immediately after a Parliament is called, and all theſe laws and decrees made voyd; and that Parliament held at *Oxford*, wherein all theſe Laws were firſt confirmed by him, called *Inſanum Parliamentum*, the mad Parliament; and all theſe Patents, Commiſſions or Inſtruments made to ratifie theſe Articles, were brought forth, and ſolemnly damned; and ſo bright and reſplendent did Prerogative break forth, that it was Proclaimed Treaſon in any but to ſpeak or mention any of theſe Grants with the leaſt approbation; and becauſe the City of *London* had engaged with the Barons and People as a principal part of the whole, he would needs have burnt the City, had not ſome wiſe and potent Favorites interpoſed, and yet they could hardly diſſwade him from that barbarous and impolitick wickedneſſe; But what he ſpared in their houſes, that he gott out of their purſes, and made up all his loſſes with a thorough ſubjection of their perſons, and ſuppreſſion of their liberties. I need relate no more of this King, nor make obſerva-

Mat. Paris, p. 8, 9.

ſervations, the Reader will be amazed at the repetition; he at leaſt 20 times gave his promiſe for the confirmation, & execution of theſe juſt decrees (contained in *Magna Charta*) and as many times was perjured, notwithſtanding all the ſolemnities, both Civil, Moral, and Eccleſiaſtical, uſed in the acts of ratification; this may learn us how to truſt the moſt poſitive Engagements of Princes, which croſs their own intereſt, and what to think of that word and promiſe they call Royall; this King reigned fifty ſix years, the longeſt of any King of *England*: But we have had too much of the ſtory of him, as he had too long a time to rule, conſidering his temper, and deſign. Its well if we can be wary for the future, and be more cautious then to truſt the moſt promiſing and inſinuating Princes with our liberties, and priviledges, which can be no longer expected to be preſerved by them, then they may ſerve as footſtools to advance them in the Throne of abſolute Majeſty, But no more of this King; never were there more hard ſtrivings and wreſtlings between tyranny and liberty, with ſuch bad ſucceſs to the people; I onely conclude his raign with the exhortation of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 146. 3. *O put not your confidence in Princes*, ſurely men of high degree are a lye.

King *Henry* is by this time layd in his grave, and one would think *Magna Charta* buried with him; His Son *Edward*, who was his right-hand in his wars againſt the Barons, and the principal Agent in their ruine, ſucceeds him in the throne; and inſtead of leſſening goes on and makes an higher improvement of that royalty which his Father left him; having in his own perſon got the victory over the Peoples Libertyes in his Fathers time, and having wonne or worne out the greateſt of thoſe which oppoſed, and being long experienced in the world, ſo ſecured and advanced the Prerogative, that as one ſayth, he ſeemed to be the firſt conqueror after the Conqueror that got the domination of this State in ſo abſolute and eminent a manner, as by his government appears; He layd unſupportable Taxes both on the Clergy and Laity, even unto Fiveteens and halfs of their Eſtates. As for Tenths, that was comparatively accounted eaſy; the Barons and People for a long time durſt not move for removal of greivances, untill that the King (being always in wars in *France*, *Flanders*, *Wales* and *Scotland*, and ſo needed continually vaſt ſums of mony) called a Parliament wherein he demanded a great treaſure of mony from the People, that he might give them

somewhat in lieu of their expences, confirmed the two great Charters on the Petition of the Barons and People, (and so stopped their mouths) and this he did as often as he had extraordinary occasions for mony; But (like all other royall promises) they were performed by leasure. Never was Royalty more Majestick and glorious then in this Kings raign, and the people less able to oppose; he was always so watchful and eager to enlarge his own power; I shall end his raign also with what *Daniel* that impartiall and witty Historian saith of him, He was more for the greatness of the Kingdom then the quiet of it; and never *King* before or since (*except our last Charls*) shed so much Christian bloud within this Isle of *Britain*, and was the cause of more in that following, and not one grain of benefit procured unto the people by all their expences on him, which was but to make themselves more perfect slaves.

The next *King* was *Edward* the Second his Son, who though more vicious then the Father, yet not more tyrannicall; he gave more advantage to the people thorough his lewd life and unmartiall nature, to seek the confirmation and establishment of *Magna Charta*, and other good Laws which were utterly suppresst, and darkened in his Fathers reign. This Prince gave himself over to all wicked courses; and surrendred his Judgement, and the management of all affairs of State unto evill and corrupt Counsellors; especially to one *Peirce Gaveston*, who had both his ear and heart, unto whom he was so much endeared, that he ventured the loss of *Kingdom*, and all the hearts of his Subjects for his company, and preservation; and though the Barons had by often Petitions, and earnest sollicitations prevailed with the King to banish him, yet he soon after sent for him home, and laid him more nigh his bosom then before; on this the Barons raise an army against the King; and send him word, that unless he would observe the late Articles (which they had formerly by much ado got him to sign in Parliament) and put from him *Pierce Gaveston*, they would rise in Arms against him as a perjured Prince; the *King* (whom they found, was apt to be terrified) yeilds again to his banishment, with this clause, that if he were found again within the *Kingdom* he should be condemned to death as an enemy of the State: All places were now dangerous to *Gaveston*; both *Ireland* (where he formerly was protected) & *France* also too hot for him; in this extremity, finding no security any where else, he again adventures on *England*, and puts himself once again into the *Kings* bosom

boſom (a Sanctuary which he thought would not be polluted with blood) and there he is received with as great joy as ever man could be; the Lords with more violence proſecute their ſuite to the *King* for delivering up, or removing him once more; but to no purpoſe; they therefore ſet forwards with an Army, lay ſiege to the Caſtle wherein *Gaveſton* was, took him, and notwithſtanding the *Kings* earneſt ſollicitation for his life, they condemned him to the block, and took off his head; this obſtacle being removed out of the way, the Lords having now the better end of the ſtaff make advantages of it for demanding the confirmation, and execution of all thoſe Articles formerly granted, threatning the *King*, that if he would not conſent to it, they would force him by a ſtrong hand; with this meſſage they had their ſwords alſo drawn, and march towards *London*: A Parliament is called, where the *King*, after a ſubmiſſion by the Lords to him, for that act done againſt *Gaveſton*, contrary to his conſent, and will, grants the Articles and pardon to them. But the *King* goes on his old way, adheres to wicked counſel (waving the grave advice of his Parliament) and is ruled by the two *Spencers*, who acted with mighty ſtrain of injuſtice, which cauſed the Lords again to take up arms, and ſtand for their Liberties, but are, through the revolt of ſome, and the treachery of others overthrown at *Burton* upon *Trent*, and two and twenty Noblemen, the greateſt Peers in the Realm executed in ſeveral places for nothing but oppoſing his evil Counſellors: this was the firſt blood of Nobility that ever was ſhed in this manner in *England* ſince *William* the firſt, which being ſo much, opened veines for more to follow; and now the beam of power being turned, regality weighs down all. But by degrees, through the continuation of his ill government, whereby he daily loſt the peoples hearts, the Lords get an Army, and take the King priſoner, and by generall conſent in Parliament depoſed him as a tyrant, and elected his ſon *Edward* the third to ſucceed, and his ſon was crowned before his eyes. Thus ended his raign, but not his life.

Poor *England* which had laboured ſo long and ſucceſſively under ſo many tyrants, and had conteſted ſo long with Royalty for their dearly purchaſed liberties, might now hopefully expect at leaſt a dawning of Reformation, eſpecially when they had got ſo much power as to depoſe Authority; and began, as it were, on a new account; and the truth is, affairs were now promiſing, and

distempers seemed to wear away with the former Governor; yet the condition of the Kingdom, had but a new face on it, and grievances were rather not aggravated or multiplied then any whit removed, and oppressions may be rather said to be changed from one shoulder to another then abolished.

Prince *Edward* who succeeded, who was crowned in his fathers life, had observance enough to remember his fate, and was much warned by it, both to prevent and suppress insurrections, knowing by experience the full state of the controversie, and therefore began his Government very fairely, and with much applause; onely to prevent factions, and sidings, he privately caused his father, the deposed *King* to be cruelly murdered, and so sate more securely, though with more guilt upon the Throne; his raign was fifty years, & odd months, the longest next *Hen.* the third; he spent most of his time in the wars of *France* to regain his titile to that Crown, which the poor Subject felt in their estate and families, and it was a happiness (say some) that he was so much abroad; for when ever he came home, as he wanted money to supply his expences, so the people got ground to urge their Priviledges, & *Magna Charta* was at least twelve times ratified in this Kings Raign, and so often broken; yet because he goes under the name of the best Prince that raigned so long, and so well, let the Reader take but an Instance or two concerning his engagements to perform the grand Charter. This King in the first Parliament made the fifteenth year of his raign, had granted the enacting of divers wholsom and seasonable Laws, which he willed and ingaged unto for him and his heirs, that they should *be firmly kept, and remain inviolable for ever*, for the ratification of *Magna Charta*, and other good Laws formerly enacted; and that all the Officers of State, as Chancellor, Treasurer, Barons of the Exchequer, Judges, *&c.* should at that present in Parliament, and for ever after, take a solemn oath before their admission to their Offices, to keep and maintain the point of the great Charter, and the Charter of the Forrest, *&c.* But no sooner was the Parliament dissolved, but the very same year he publikely revoked these Statutes, pretending *that they were contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and to his Prerogative and Rights Royal, &c.* wherefore we are willing (saith he) providently to revoke these things we have so improvidently done; *because* (saith he) marke the dissimulation of Princes even in Parliaments) *We never really consented to the making of such Statutes,* but

Master *Prin*, the Parliaments intereſt in the *Militia*, second part, p. 38. 39.

but as then it behoved *Us, We dissembled in the Premises*, by Protestations of revocation, if indeed they should proceed to secure the dangers, which by denying the same we feared to come, with many more such passages; and yet this King is the Phœnix of our more antient Monarchs; but the Reader may still learn what the best of our Princes have been, and what weak assurances any ingagements from them are where power is wanting from them, and advantages present to them.

Another instance of his actings we may take up from the successe of his first siege of *Tourney* in *France*; having laid on heavy and excessive taxes to maintain that war, and the people seeing no fruits of all promises for executing the Articles of *Magna Charta*, they refuse to pay any more, without more faithfull performance of his Vows, and solemn engagements to them, whereby he wanting mony was fain to quit the place, and return for *England*, full of revengefull thoughts, and in much fury breaths out destruction to all the refusers; But the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* told him publikely, but plainly, that he had oftentimes as well as his Father offered manifest violences to the Liberties of the *English* Nation, comprehended in that grand Charter, and if he expected Subsidies, from the people, he must more carefully maintain their priviledges so justly due. But the *King* vexed with such language, both storms against the Arch-Bishop, and as much as possibly he then could, sought the ruine of all that had made any refusall of payment of these taxes, although he had not in any manner performed his own promises. Yet I will end his raign, because he hath a name of a good *King*, (though as *Speed* saith, by the Generall vote of Historians, he committed many foul errors in his government) with a good act he did at the fiftieth yeer of his age (which he kept as his Jubilee) he called a Parliament, and there freely heard the grievances of the people, and redressed many, especially a Petition of the Commons against the doublings of Lawyers; he caused the pleas which were before in *French* to be made in *English*; *a necessary Law* (saith *Speed*) if it had been as carefully observed; especially if he had ordered (saith he) that the same should not have been written in *French, That the Subject might understand the Law, by which he holds what he hath, and is to know what he doth.* But all this is not for nothing; for as he imparted grace unto his people (saith the same Author) for so all acts of Justice are termed, when granted by Kings,

so

ſo he took a care to repleniſh his own purſe by it, that the poor Commons obtain not any thing which they pay not too dearly for.

Here ends the Life of the beſt reputed Prince; and yet you ſee wherein his excellency lay; the beſt happineſs the people had in his raign, was, that they had more engagements for their liberties with more coſt, and the remembrances and ſenſe of the goodneſs of them more freſh and ſweet by the often repetition of them; but for execution or addition to them, they were as far to ſeek as in former times. And if it do poſſibly happen that in one Kings raign either through the goodneſs of his nature, or rather want of advantages, there be an intermiſſion of oppreſſions, (for that is the utmoſt to be expected) yet the next King will be ſure to make it up, and if they give the people a little breath, its but that they may ſow for the next to reap, or as they do with men on the rack, let them down, and give them cordials, and ſpiritfull liquors, that they may be the longer and more ſenſibly tormented; which was made good in the next Kings raign, *viz. Richard* the Second, who preſently daſhes and utterly nips theſe bloſſoms that ſprung out in the former Kings raign, devoting himſelf to all uncivill and lewd courſes, and to enable him the better unto it, layes on ſad and miſerable taxes on the people without ſo much as a mention or hint of their liberties, and as the parallel of *Edward* the ſecond, both lived and died; Its enough to decypher his raign by his end; for he was depoſed by the univerſal conſent of the people in Parliament as a tyrannical, and cruel Governor, and not a good word ſpoken of him to commend him in his Government, and its pitty to aggravate his miſery after his death, and yet (as we ſay) *Seldom comes a better*; when one is cut off, another like the Hidra's head ſprings up in his place. *Henry* the fourth who overthrew him in battel, and was made *King* in his ſtead (though by a wrong title) at firſt promiſed the new modelling of Laws to the peoples eaſe, and did, as in a complement (rather to ſecure his title, then out of affection to the people, or ſenſe of his relation) redreſs many grievances, which were more groſs and leſs concerning the Common-wealth; and as he did ſtrive by theſe common acts to engage the people to him, ſo (as one that had continuall ſence of guilt on him) he got the depoſed King to be barbarouſly murthered in the Caſtle of *Pomfret*, that no competition might endanger his title by his life; He ſpent moſt of his raign

in

incontinuall wars about his title, and was often opposed as both a Tyrant and Usurper; but he still got ground on both the liberties and laws formerly granted; yet not so sensibly as in the former Kings raigns, that the people may be said to have a little respite from the violence & heighth of Prerogative by him; but they may thank the unjustness, and brittleness of his title, for that he being more in fear of of loosing it, then out of love with the excess of his ancestors. I shall only add one story to conclude this Kings raign, which is universally reported by most of our Historians, worth observation, because it hath much of ingenuity in it, and because they were his dying words; Being cast into an Apoplexie, and nigh his end, he caused his Crown to be placed by him on his Pillow, least in the extremity of his sickness it might have been delivered to some other, who had better right thereunto then he had; But when his attendants, (through the violence of his distemper, supposed him to be dead, the young Prince of *Wales* seised on his Crown, whereat the King started up raising himself on his arms, demanded who it was that had so boldly taken away the Crown? the Prince answered that it was he; the King fell back into his bed, and fetching a deep sigh, and sending forth many a pensive groan, replyes thus; my son, what right I had to this Crown; and how I have enjoyed it, God knows, and the world hath seen; But the Prince, (ambitious enough of a Diadem) answered him thus; Comfort your self in God (good Father); the Crown you have; and if you die, I will have it and keep it with my Sword as you have done; and so he did soon after, maintaining his Fathers injustice by his own.

And now comes up his Son *Henry* the Fifth as the next heir, who though while a Prince was given to many wicked practises, yet when a King, became moderate, and hath better commendation then most of his Ancestors; the people had two advantages and comforts by him; first, that his reign was short, and that he was much imployed in the war with *France* for regaining a title to that Crown, which he accomplished, and so they were free of Civil wars; though they had still heavie taxes, yet they thought it better to pay for maintaining war abroad then at home; and truly, the people thought themselves very happy in this Kings reign, (though their priviledges were laid asleep) that they had a little breathing time from Domestick and Civil wars, and had hopes to regain by degrees a reviving of their Spirits.

But the next *King*, *Henry* the ſixth, makes up what was wanting of Tyranny and Oppreſſion in his fathers raign. He was Crowned *King* about the eighth or ninth moneth of his age, and ſo had not preſent oppertunity to ſhew his royalty. Until he came to age, the Kingdom was well governed by his three Uncles, *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exceſter*, who by their wiſdom and juſtice, kept up the flouriſhing eſtate of the *Engliſh* Nation; but when his years of nonage were expired, and he came to weld the Scepter with his own hands, (what as ſome favorably think out of weakneſs, for he was no *Solomon*) all things went preſently out of order, and Prerogative breaks forth beyond bounds; which gave occaſion to *Edward* Duke of *York* to try concluſions for his title againſt the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and making uſe of the diſcontents of the people through his evil Government, oppoſed him, and afterwards depoſed him, and raigned in his ſtead by the name of *Edward* the Fourth, and ſo by Conqueſt he got the title to run through the Houſe of *York*, having cut it off by his Sword from the houſe of *Lancaſter*; notwithſtanding actuall poſſeſſion of three deſcents, many overtures of war were yet between them; for *Henry* was not yet dead, though for the preſent outed; but as a dying man ſtrove for life, but being quite overthrown was impriſoned, and afterwards murthered to ſecure the Title; there was in theſe two Kings raign but meerly for a title fought ten bloudy Battles, beſides all leſſer skirmiſhes, wherein many thouſands of Lords, Gentlemen, and Commons were ſlain, and yet not one jot of advantage gotten by it for the peoples liberties; It being the miſery and folly of the people to venture all they have, to ſet up thoſe over them who afterwards prove moſt tyrannicall, and to ſow ſeeds of future miſery, by ſpilling their bloods for a uſurped title.

In this Kings reign, as in the former, the whole land was miſerably rent by unnaturall diviſions againſt his title, and government; and though neither of theſe two had a juſt title (if we will begin from the root) yet all the bloud of the Nation is thought too little to be ſpilt to maintain their pretences; yet we may not reckon this King among the worſt, had it not faln out that his title muſt be kept up with expence of ſo much blood and ruin of the Engliſh Nation; yet in his laſt five yeers, he laid on ſuch extraordinary taxes, and changed the form of Laws, that he loſt the love of all his Subjects.

For

For *Edward* the Fifth his Son, who ſucceeded him in title, we need but mention him, for he had but the name of a King (being an Infant) and his reign may wel be called an *Inter-regnum*, for ere he came to know what government was, he was cruelly murthered with his Infant Brother, by his Uncle *Rich.* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who reigned both for him, and afterwards for himſelf by the name of *Richard* the Third, a bloody and cruel man, rather a monſter then a Prince, his name ſtincks in the Engliſh dialect; the ſhortneſs of his reign was the happineſs of the people; for after three yeers uſurpation, he was ſlain in the field by the Earl of *Richmond*, who by his valour, more then his Title got the Crown by the name of *Henry* the Seventh; this was the beſt act that was done by him, in eaſing the Kingdom of ſuch a viper. In his reign (who is the firſt root of our Kings ſince) the people had more hopes then benefits, and were rejoyced and made happy more by expectations, then enjoyments of any reall priviledge, or liberty. For though he took all the ways to ſecure his title by his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth* daughter to *Edward* the Fourth, yet many ſtratagems were laid to diſturbe his peace, which put him on acts of policy, and diligence, (which he excellently demonſtrated) to free and extricate himſelf out of dangers and deſigns; many ſad diviſions were ſtil in the Kingdom, all men were not pleaſed either with his title or government, and that they might but diſturbe him, or hazard his Crown, they made Stage Kings, dreſt up pretty lads in Princely robes, and carried them up and down the Kingdom as puppets for the people to gaze one, and admire; all this while King *Henry* had not time to advance his prerogative, while he was but ſecuring his Title; but after he had done that, and now began to look on himſelf as free from either forraign or home competitors, and the coaſt of State ſeeming cleer from all thickning weather, he thinks of redeeming what he had loſt by factions, and imployes his wit for bringing down the height of the Engliſh Nation, and plucking down their courage, and was eſpecially (ſaith one) jealous over his Nobility, as remembring how himſelf was ſet up; and how much more did this humor encreaſe in him after he had conflicted with ſuch idols and counterfeits as *Lambert Simnel* & *Perkin Warbeck*? the ſtrangeneſs of which dangers made him think nothing ſafe; and thinking that the riches of the Engliſh occaſioned their rebellions, he took a courſe to empty their Coffers into his; and the plot whereby he meant to

Sir Francis Bacon.

effect it was by taking the advantage of the breach of penal Laws, which he both found, and made for that purpose; his Instruments which for this work were pickt, and qualified sufficiently, were Sir *Richard Empson* and *Edmund Dudley*, men learned in the Law, and of desperate and subtle heads, and forward in executing the Kings commands; these two attended by troops of base Informers, Promoters, Catchpoles, Cheaters, Knights of the Post &c. went up and down the Kingdom, cruelly polled and taxed all sorts of people, and prosecute in every Shire the most deserving and generous men, that the Kingdom in a little time was more beggard, then by most of the former Civil wars; and all this done by the Kings speciall command, and countenance, that we may see what was the reason he began not sooner to play *Rex*; want of opportunity, and fear of loosing his Crown while he was advancing it; but the latter end of his raign was too soon, and too long for such actings. This King ends his raign with the greatest acts of tyranny; he made himself a rich King by beggaring his Subjects; after he had freed his own person out of danger, he imploys all his wits to enslave the *English*; the fruits both of his title and tyranny we have felt ever sence in these that followed him.

His son *Henry* the eighth of that name, succeeds him; in his first beginnings he seemed to be tenderly affected to the Commonwealth, and redressed many grievances, especially those which were laid on by his father, and executed by *Empson* and *Dudley*, doing Justice on them for their cruelty and oppression. But those affections were too good, and too violent to last long; the sound of Drums and Trumpets soon quasht them, and many encroachments grew on the peoples Liberties; many tempestuous storms and controversies there were in this Kings raign; but they were more Ecclesiastical then Civil, and so more dangerous and strong. In a word, he was accounted a better Souldier then a Governor, and more fit for a General then a King to govern by just and equal Laws; the best act he did, was the discovery of the wickedness of the Clergy, and casting off the Popes Supremacy, which yet he took to himself, and annexed it to his own Crown; as the most of his raign was ful of controversies and tempests, so all affairs were managed in a ranting and turbulent maner, not with that gravity & soberness as becomes civil and prudentiall transactions; he was very lascivious, and de-
Martin. lighted much in variety, and changes of Laws, as wives; he oftentimes

times much pleased himself to be in the company, and was over familiar with swaggering and loose fellows; and the people ever and anon found the power of his Prerogative at home, as his enemies did of his Sword abroad. *Edward* the sixth his onely son succeeds him, a Prince that was too good to live long, the Phœnix of *English* Kings, had he had time to prosecute his intentions and mature his genius; but the Sun in him did shine too bright in the morning; God gave *England* onely the representation of a good King, but would not in judgement let us be blest long with him; Religion began to revive, Liberty to bud forth, the people to peep out of their graves of slavery and bondage, and to have their blood fresh and blushing in their cheeks; but all is presently blasted by his death, and the people (who have seldom more then hopes for their comforts) are now fainting for fear; *England* is benighted, and hung with black; Queen *Mary* that *Alecto*, and fury of women succeeds; and now both souls and bodies of the people are enslaved, and nothing but bone-fires made of the flesh and bones of the best Christians: But its too much to name her in the *English* tongue; Queen *Elizabeth* succeedes her, who being prepared for the Crown by suffering, came in a most seasonable time, both for her self and the people, who were made fuel for the flames of her sisters devotion.

And now *England* begins to flourish again, and to recover its strength; many inlargements were granted, both to the consciences, and estates of the people; yet if we speak impartially, we were kept further off *Rome*, then royalty; yet doubtless she may be Chronicled for the best Princess, and her raign the most even, and best managed, with more fruits to the people then any of the former Kings, especially if we consider how long she governed this Nation; I end her raign with this Character, That she was the best Queen that ever *England* had, and the glory of her Sexe to all Ages.

The *English* Line is now ended; we must go into *Scotland* to seek for a King, because a daughter of *Henry* the seventh was married to *James* the fourth, King of *Scotland*; but I will not question his title.

King *James* the sixth of *Scotland*, and first of *England*, succeeded on the *English* Throne; A Prince that had many advantages to set up Prerogative, which he improved; he was too timorous to act, but most subtile in Councel and designs, and no *King* did more in-

ſenſibly and cloſely undermine the Liberties of *England* then himſelf; he gave us cauſe to remember from whence he came; but his peaceable raign was the rail to his deſign, and did choak ſuſpition; we were brought by him very nigh *Rome* and *Spain*, and yet knew it not; he had an inveterate hatred againſt Puritans, as he had a fear of Papiſts, and made more of Biſhops then ordinary by remembrance of the *Scots* Presbytery; He had as much of Royalty in his Eye as any Prince could have, but had not ſo much courage to proſecute it; the Puritan alwayes lay in his Spleen, the Papiſt on his Lungs, that he durſt not, that he could not breath ſo clearely and ſtrongly againſt them; but the Biſhops lay in his heart. I will not rip up his perſonal failings after his death; he was the moſt profane *King* for oaths and blaſphemies that *England* had beſides, *&c.* He now grows old, and was judged only fit to lay the Plot, but not to execute it; the deſign being now ripe, and his perſon and life the only obſtacle and *Remora* to the next Inſtrument, he is conveyed away ſuddenly into another world, as his ſon *Henry* was, becauſe thought unſuteable to the Plot, it being too long to waite, untill Nature and Diſtemper had done the deed.

We are now come to our laſt *Charls* (who is like to end both that race and its tyranny) the perfect *Idea* of all the reſt, and the moſt zealous proſecutor of the deſigns of all his anceſtors, who, if Divine Providence had not miraculouſly prevented, had accompliſhed the utmoſt of their intentions, and for ever darkned the glory of the Engliſh Sun; ſo much I muſt ſay of him, that he got more wiſedom by action, then could poſſibly be expected by his nature; experience that teacheth fools, made him wiſe; he endeavoured to act what others deſigned; he diſſembled as long as he could, and uſed all parties to the utmoſt; But his zeal and hardineſs brought him to his death. He needed no phyſick for his body, had he remembred his ſoul. But what need I mention him? he is the laſt of Engliſh Monarchs, and the moſt abſolute monument of Monarchy, and example of tyranny and injuſtice that ever was known in *England*; he would have been what other Kings are, and endeavoured to attain what others would be; he lived an enemy to the Common-wealth, and died a martyr to Prerogative.

Thus you have ſeen a faithfull repreſentation of the *Norman* race, under which we have groaned for about ſix hundred years; the firſt Title made onely by the Invaſion and Conqueſt of a Stranger and Baſtard,

Bastard, continued by usurpation and tyranny, that take away but two or three persons out of the list (and yet these bad enough if we consider all things) and all this while *England* neither had a right heir, or good King to govern it; and yet by delusion and deceit we must be bound to maintain that Title as Sacred and Divine, which in the beginning was extorted and usurping, as if gray hairs could adde reverence to injustice. *England* hath now an advantage more then all its Ancestors, of freeing it self from this successive slavery, and interrupting that bloody line, and after an apprentiship to bondage for so many hundred yeers, Providence hath given us our own choice; If we take it we are made; if not, the old judgement of God lies on us for our stupidity, and blindness. For my part, as I do not give much to that Monkish Prophecy from *Henry* the Seventh times; *Mars, Puer, Alecto, Virgo, Vulpes, Leo, Nullus* (yet I wonder how the Devil could foresee so far off, and must needs say that it hath yet been literally fulfilled, both in the Characters of the persons, and the issue) yet I must so far give way to the power of divine actings on my faith, as to think that either we shall never have a King more, or else we shall have one sent of God in wrath, as the *Israelites* had, seeing we are not contented that way which God hath from Heaven led us to.

As for the Title of this Prince (who would fain be accounted the right heir) Let us but remember from whence he had it, and how its now tainted; were it never so just, the Treason of the Father hath cut off the Son; and how unwise an act, besides all other considerations, will it be for *England* to set up the Son to propagate both his Fathers design, and death. We may prophecy soon what a Governor he is like to be which hath both suck't in his Fathers principles, and his Mothers milk; who hath been bred up under the wings of Popery, and Episcopacy, and doubtless suckt both brests; one who was engaged from the beginning in the last war against this Parliament, who hath the same Counsellors his Father had, to remember him both of the design, and the best wayes of effecting it; one who hath never yet given any testimony of hopefullness to this Nation; who was in Armes when a Subject, against the Libertyes which *England* and *Scotland* spilt much blood for to maintain; one who hath both his Fathers and his own scores to cleer, and is fain to make use of all *Medium's*, though never so contrary, attended with all the crew of Malignants of three Nations; who is so relatively and

per-

personally engaged, that both old and new reckonings are expected to be payd only by him. To his Father He is endebted for His Crown, and bound to pay His Debts, both Ecclesiastical and Civil (which will amount to no small summe); To the Papists He is engaged for their old affections, and hopes of new, besides the obligation of duty to his Mother, and freeing her from her Monastry and Hermitage. To the Prince of *Orange* he owes more then his ransom, besides the States courtesies; to *Ireland* he is in more arrears then his Kingdom of *Scotland* will be able to pay, and to *Scotland* for his entertainment and enstalment more then *England* (for present or in many years) can repay without a morgage, or community of lands, and liberties, besides what he owes *England* for helping his Father to make the Parliament spend so many millions of treasure, besides blood (which would have weighed down all expences besides) and helping as a prime Agent the utter destruction of *England*; all which must be reckoned for with much seriousness; and if men have so much charity and generousness to forgive all, yet we have a reckoning with heaven to be discharged, which debt is yet unpaid (without we think the Fathers blood be sufficient satisfaction to divine Justice); and if that death should be a satisfaction for himself, yet not for his Son, who joyned with him, & now continues the same fault, and guilt, and intends to follow on with more violence and intention then ever. Can we think (& retain our memories and reasons) that *Charls* the Second can forget *Charls* the First? that custom and education can easily be altered? that the true and reall engagers with him and his Father, shall be razed out of his heart, or that he can heartily love his opposers, but as he may make use them: or that when some Banks and Rocks are out of the way, the waters and floods of Royalty will not run in its wonted Channel? will Episcopacy dye in *England*, when Kingship is set up? Can reason think or dream, that Majesty will not eat out sincerity? or that Presbytery can flourish in that state where Prerogative is the ascendant? or is that person fit to be the *medium* of peace, and the glory of this Nation, who was the conjunct instrument of the war, & the survivor both of the war and peace? a person that durst not stay in his own Nation to plead his right, because of his guilt, whose youth and wilfulness is most unapt for the setling the storms and tempests of a distracted Nation. But no more untill we feel the misery of such an attempt; It was said of *Tiberius Cæsar* in a Satyricall expression, yet it proved true,

Reg-

Regnabit ſanguine multo
Ad regnum quiſquis venit ab exilio.

Who firſt exil'd is after Crown'd,
His reign with blood will much abound.

Suet. lib. 3. c. 59.

When this poor Nation (after all neglects of providences) hath ſpent its blood and treaſure to ſet up this Prince in the Throne, (which it may be they ſhall never effect) yet at the laſt they muſt ſtand to his courteſy for all their Liberties, which they can never expect, and make him a Monarch. The patience and long ſuffering of God hath permitted uſurpation and tyranny in *England* this long time for the hardneſs of our hearts, and ſottiſhneſs of our natures, and it may be, may lengthen it out to the utmoſt, which will be a miſery with a witneſs, and yet a juſt puniſhment of God on thoſe who were born free, but will ſell away their inheritances for nothing to a ſtranger. Did ever *King* ſince the world began (ſetting aſide ſome who were Prieſts and Prophets alſo) naturally, and ingennouſly, with a royall affection devote himſelf to the propagating of the pure and reall liberties of the people? Let him be ſhown forth as a miracle; but that ever any one that hath been all his dayes, both in the Fathers time, and his own engaged in wars againſt the Liberties of the people, (ſolemnly proclaimed in Parliament) and to ſet up Prerogative, either intended or managed his raign that way (how ever he was brought into his Government) I durſt affirm to be a Paradox, and the utmoſt contradiction; I am ſure its as impoſſible to be found in *England* as the Philoſophers Stone among the *Peripatecicks*. But a word more to the Title, between the now preſent Power, and this *Charls*; what reaſon is there, and equity, that the Parliament of *England* (take them in what qualification you will (following to the utmoſt the firſt principles for the liberty of the people) ſhould not be eſteemed as juſt heirs, and their Parliamentary ſucceſſors as this young Confident? ſhal *Willam* the *Norman*, (only having a better Sword) a ſtranger, one who by nature was never born heir of any thing, create himſelf a title to *England*, and a ſucceſſion for many ſcore of years, meerly on that account? and ſhall every one after him break the line as they pleaſe, and take their opportunities to make themſelves roots of Kings,

though ſpringing in the Wilderneſs? Shall *Henry* the Seventh (the Father of us all) who was little leſs then a Baſtard, being the ſon of an illegitimate ſon of *John* a *Gaunt*, a forraigner, and private man, by fortune and power give himſelf a title to this Crown, and all our Kings ſince acknowledging Right by that Root? Muſt thoſe Pretences be Sacred which have only the Ordination of a more keen and glittering ſword? and a confirmation by Cuſtome be thus Divine? and ſhall not the Parliament of *England* (cloathed with the Authority of all the People, and carrying all the Libertyes of *England* with them) backt with the power of a faythfull Army, be thought (in the utmoſt Criticiſme of reaſon) to have as much title to propagate their Succeſſe for our freedoms, as they have had to convey both their uſurpation and tyranny? that a private claym by a better Sword ſhould be *jure Divino*; and a publique Title both by reaſon, ſucceſs, and providence of a ſolemn Aſſembly, who have been many years oppoſing the former oppreſſions, and now have gained it, ſhould not be accounted valid, nor of equall right with a ſucceſſive illegall claim? Let all the world be judge (who conſider the premiſes) and let the violenteſt reaſon unroyalis'd ſpeak its utmoſt. It is high time now to end that line that was never either well begun, or directly continued; *Charls* the Father is gone to his own place, and ſo is *Charls* the Son likewiſe, he being in his own proper Nation, *Scotland*; Let us keep him there if we be wiſe, and intend to be happy, and let *England* diſdain to be under the domination any more of any forraign power for the future; and ſeeing we have conquered the Conqueror, and got the poſſeſſion of the true Engliſh title, by juſtice, and gallantry; Let us not loſe it again, by any pretence of a particular, and debauched perſon.

FINIS.